

King CHARLES the 1st's
DEFENCE

OF THE
CHURCH of ENGLAND,

As it was Establish'd and Confirm'd by

King EDWARD VI.

AND

Queen ELIZABETH.

In several Letters betwixt

His Sacred MAJESTY,

AND

Mr. *Alexander Henderson.*

To which is Added,

I. His Majesty's Quære
concerning *Easter.*

II. His Three Prayers.

III. His Letter to his Son
the Prince of *Wales.*

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head of His Army.

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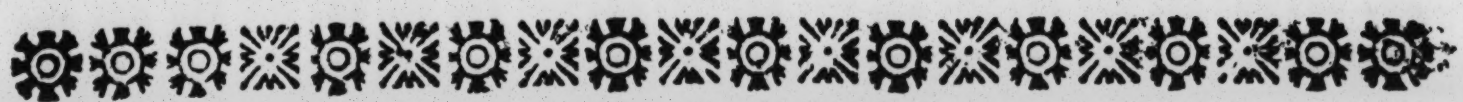
IX. A List of His Judges.

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on the Scaffold.

H A G U E,

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His MAJESTY's first Paper.

For Mr. Alexander Henderson.

Mr. Henderson,

I Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for Me, to maintain an Argument of Divinity with so able and learned a Man as your self, it being your, not My Profession; which really was the cause that made Me desire to hear some Learned Man argue my Opinion with you, of whose Abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an Errour, for want of having all which could be said laid open unto Me. For indeed My humour is such, that I am still partial for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weakness of those that maintain it; always thinking that equal Champions would cast the balance on the other part. Yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as My Physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure: only I thought fit to warn you, lest if you (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was blest with the King My Father's Love, which I thank God, was an invaluable Happiness to Me all his days: and among all his Cares for My Education, his chief was, to settle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which He made Himself so eminent to all the World, that, I am sure, none can call in question the brightness of His Light in that Particular, without shewing their own want of base Malice. He it was who laid in Me the Foundations of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in. So that, whether the worthiness of My Character be consider'd, or the not few years that I have been settled in My Principles; it ought to be no

strange thing, if it be found no easie work to make Me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto I have (according to St. Paul's rule, *Rom. xiv. 22.*) been happy in *Not condemning my self in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you How, it remains to tell you what I believe, in relation to these miserable Distractions.

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, *Acts xxiv. 18*) *Neither with Multitude, nor with Tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those whom I conceive to have the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made Me always confident that the work was very perfect as to Essentials; of which number *Church-Government* being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered if there had been cause. Which opinion of Mine was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceiv'd that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universal custom of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, we should deprive ourselves of a lawful Priesthood; and then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easie to judge. These are the principal Reasons which make Me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My Consent for their expulsion out of *England*. But I have another obligation, that to My particular is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, My *Coronation Oath*. Now if (as St. Paul saith, *Rom. xiv. 23.*) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to My Peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My self?

Now consider, ought I not to keep My self from sumptuous sins? and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole world, and lose his own Soul?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdome)

and Mr. Alex. Henderson.

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dom) methinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintain the Laws of the Land; which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conscience, or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or if My Judgment in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant in the Grounds which the King My Father hath taught Me.

Newcastle, May 29. 1646.

C. R.

Mr. Alexander Henderson's first Paper.

For His MAJESTY.

SIR,

IT is Your Majesty's Royal Goodness, and not my merit, that hath made Your Majesty to conceive any opinion of my Abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from Your Majesty) ought in all duty to be improved for Your Majesty's satisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest, expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopal Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not Your Majesty's purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the Cause) have undertaken alone, and which seldom or never hath been an effectual way for finding of Truth, or moving the minds of Men to relinquish their former Tenents, *nam res transit à judicio in affectum*; witness the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

I. Sir, When I consider Your Majesty's Education under the

hand of such a Father, the length of time wherein Your Majesty hath been settled in Your Principles of Church-Government, the Arguments which have continually in private and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled Your Majesty's ears for the Divine Right thereof, Your Coronation Oath, and divers State Reasons which Your Majesty doth not mention; I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that Your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous Joannes Picus Mirandula proveth by irrefragable Reasons (which no rational man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own Understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his Reason telleth him is false; much less is it possible for any Man to have his Reason commanded by the will or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the School men, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*; Mine own will or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter, but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my Reason teacheth me. Yet, Sir, I hope Your Majesty will acknowledge (for Your Paper professes no less) that according to the saying of Ambrose, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, It is neither sin nor shame to change to the better. Symmachus in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinian) alledgeth all those motives from Education, from Prescription of time, from worldly Prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the embracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jews for Moses against Christ; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against the Change now than they had in former Times.

3. But Your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question, and I confess it were so, if there can be no Reasons brought for a Reformation or Change. Your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of England, as being done legally and

orderly, and by those who had the Reforming Power; and I do not deny but it were to be wish'd that Religion, where there is need, were always Reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, nor left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent. Thus did Jacob reform his own Family, Moses destroyed the Golden Calf, the good Kings of Judah reformed the Church in their time: but that such Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. Asa took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for Jehosaphat removed the High places, yet was not his Reformation perfect; for it was Hezekiah that brake the Brazen Serpent, and Josiah destroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogy, That like unto him there was no King before him. It is too well known that the Reformation of K. Henry the VIII. was most imperfect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship and Government: And although it proceeded by some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never Reformed; the Head was changed, Dominus, non Dominium, and the whole limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy retained, upon what Snares and Temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not express. It was a hard saying of Romanorum Malleus, Grosthead of Lincoln, That Reformation was not to be expected, nisi in ore gladii cruentandi. Yet this I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmness of Reformation here hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the Godly in this Kingdom; occasion of more Schism and Separation than ever was heard of in any other Church, and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches, which God did bless with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for Your Majesty, that to Your comfort and everlasting Fame the praise of the godly Josiah may be made Yours; which yet will be no dispraise to Your Father, or Edward the VI. or any other Religious Princes before You: none of them having so fair an opportunity now by the Supreme Providence put into Your Royal hands. I should tremble to think and to foresee what may be the issue, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of Mordecai, Esth iv. 14 nor what Savonarola told the Emperor Charles, because I hope better things from Your Majesty.

4. To the Argument brought by Your Majesty (which I believe none of Your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) [That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universal practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of the lawfulness of Priesthood (*I think Your Majesty means a lawful Ministry*) and then how the Sacraments can be administred is easie to judge.] I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in Scotland, It cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben: But (not to insist now on a Liturgy, and things of that kind) there was no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt the Bishop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that not upon occasion, but of set purpose; do neither express nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastors; although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly exprest the Office, Gifts and Duties of the meanest Officers, such as Deacons. 3. That in the Ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautiful, and Divine Order and subordination; one kind of Minister: both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity before another, as the Apostles first, the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in Offices of the same kind, that one hath a majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apostle above other Apostles (unless in moral respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists, or Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kind, only in the office of Pastor an Inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry, which are common

commonly called, The power of Order and Jurisdiction, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: And that, Matth xv 16, 17. the gradation in matters of Discipline or Church-censures, is from one, to two, or more: and if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church: he saith not, tell it to the Bishop; there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations do not satisfie, Your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such Traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the Practice universal of the Church for many years; Eusebius the prime Historian confesseth so much: and the Learned Josephus Scaliger testifieth, That from the end of the Acts of the Apostles untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Authors about Church matters. It is true, Diotrephes sought the preheminance in the Apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times some puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with Weakness, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government: but that all the Learned and Godly of those times consented to such a Change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that Your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Diocesan Bishops, sith it is not only manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confess, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptism administred by a private Person, wanting a publick calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

Concerning the other Argument taken from Your Majesty's Coronation Oath, I confess, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a matter of Religion) much tenderness is required: and far be it from us, who desire to observe our own Solemn Oath, to press

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Your Majesty with the violation of Yours. Yet Sir, I will crave Your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before Your Majesty's eyes this one thing, (which perhaps may require a larger Discourse) That although no humane authority can dispence with an Oath, Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an oath ceaseth: As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaseth to be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formal cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, Sublatâ Causâ tollitur Effectus, Sublato Relato tollitur Correlatum: or when an Oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oaths from the Nature of the thing do include a Condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, Your Majesty's Oath doth not bind You or Your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative Power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopal Government in Scotland, and of the removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of England. And I assure my self that Your Majesty did not intend at the taking of Your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should find an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) You should lose Your self and Your Posterity and Crown, that You would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If Your Majesty still object, that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable; that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning Your Piety to Your Royal Father and Teacher of Happy Memory, with which Your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That His Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of the Church of Scotland; That in the face of the latter Edition of Basilicon Doron, His Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, than the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of England, and that he conceived the Prelates in favour of the Popish Hierarchy; and that (could His Ghost now speak)

and Mr. Alex. Henderson.

II

Speak to Your Majesty) He would not advise Your Majesty to run such hazards for those Men who will chuse rather to pull down Your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give Your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

His MAJESTY'S Second Paper.

For Mr. *Alexander Henderson.*

A Reply to his Answer to my first Paper. June 6. 1646.

Mr. Henderson,

IF it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to Paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you (whose Answer to my former Paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justify my opinion of your Abilities :) but it being merely (as you know) for my particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines would be most effectual ; and, I believe, you cannot but grant, that I must best know how My self may be best satisfied ; for certainly My Taste cannot be guided by another Man's Palate : and indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either Persons or Books to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction. The foreseeing of which made Me at first (for the saving of time) desire that some of those Divines which I gave you in a List, might be sent

Concerning your second Section, I were much to blame if I should not submit to that saying of St. *Am-* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found less ingenuous than you shew your self to be in the former part of it : wherefore my Reply is, that as I shall not be ashamed to change for the Better, so I must
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see that it is *Better* before I *Change*, otherwise Inconstancy in this were both Sin and Shame; and remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that *no Man's Reason can be commanded by another Man's Will*.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on, with that Ingenuity which the other did; for I do not understand how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation* which I commend hath not been the most perfect, or that any other is lawful, those having been all by the Regal Authority: and because *Henry* the Eighth's *Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of *King Edward* and *Q. Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new Mode and Figure must be found out to form a Syllogism whereby to prove that. But however you are mistaken; for no Man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry* the Eighth, for he only gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and *Q. Elizabeth* that perfected it. Nor did I ever aver that the beginning of any Humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the Negligence of Princes*: For, you know, there is much Difference between Permission and Approbation. But all this time I find no Reasons (according to your promise) for a *Reformation* or *Change*, (I mean since *Q. Elizabeth's* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying, it is well you come off it with [*yet I must say;*] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justify that bloody ungodly saying: and for your comparing our *Reformation* here to the *Laodicean lukewarmness*, proved by *Complaints, Grievings, &c.* all that doth, and but unhand somly *petere Principium*; nor can Generals satisfy Me; for you must first prove that those Men had reason to complain, those Churches to be Grieved, and how we were truly the Causers of this Schism and Separation. for those words which you will not use, I will answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of my main Arguments: but, by your favour, you take (or conceive) a wrong way to convince Me: It is I must

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make good the Affirmative, for I believe a Negative cannot be proved. In stead of which, if you had made appear the practice of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive Times*, you had done much; for I do aver that this *Government* was never practised before *Calvin's* time: the Affirmative of which I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the *lawfulness* and *succession* of *Episcopacy* and, as I believe, the *necessity* of it. For doing whereof I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal may, one way or other, give Me satisfaction: but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned Man, whom I can trust to find out all such Citations as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousness* of My Argument, (to My knowledge) it was never My practice, nor do I confess to have begun now. For if the *Practice* of the *Primitive Church* and the *universal consent* of the *Fathers* be not convincing Arguments, when the *interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtful, I know nothing: For if this be not, then of necessity the *Interpretation* of *private Spirits* must be admitted; the which contradicts *St. Peter*, 2 *Pet. i. 20.* is the Mother of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdoms into confusion. And to say that an Argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or that such a thing is good, because it is the Custom of some of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with Me, until you prove these to be *infallible*, or that to maintain no *Truth*. And how *Diotrephes's* Ambition (who directly opposed the Apostle *St. John*) can be an Argument against *Episcopacy*, I do not understand.

When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*; as you must prove, before I confess it, that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop* may lawfully ordain other *Presbyters*. And as to the Administration of *Baptism*, as I think none will deny that a Woman can lawfully or duly administer it, though when done it be valid; so none ought to do it without a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny but to be absolutely necessary for the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oaths* in general, and their several *Obligations*, to which I fully agree; intending in the particular now in question to be guided by your own Rule, which is [*when any Oath hath a special reference to the Benefit of those to whom I make the Promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth.*] Now it must be known, to whom this Oath hath reference, and to whose Benefit. The Answer is clear, Only to the *Church of England*, as by the Record will be plainly made appear. And you much mistake in alledging that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory power*; for (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did submit nor was subordinate to them, and that it was only the *King and Clergy* who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* merely serving to help to give the *Civil Sanction*. All this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the *Church of England* (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release Me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To your last, concerning the *King My Father*, of Happy and Famous Memory both for His Piety and Learning, I must tell you, that I had the Happiness to know him better than you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of His Opinions: for I dare say, should his Ghost now speak He would tell you, that a *Bloody Reformation* was never lawful, as not warranted by God's Word, and that *Preces & lachrymae sunt Arma Ecclesiae*.

9. To conclude, having replied to all your Papers I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me Answer to My last *Quære*. It may be you are (as Cicero says) like the People of England, *What they not like, they never understand*. but in earnest, that Question is so pertinent to the Purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction, and besides, it may be useful for other things.

Newcastle, June 6. 1646.

C R.

Mr. Alexander Henderson's second Paper.

For His M A J E S T Y.

Sir,

THE smaller the Encouragements be, in relation t^o the success, (which how small they are, Your Majesty well knows) the more apparent, and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about at Your Majesty's command: yet while I consider, that the way of Man is not himself, nor is it in Man that walketh, to direct his own steps; and when I remember how many Supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in Your Majesty's behalf, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed success.

1. I have been averse from a Disputation of Livines, 1. For saving of time; which the present exigence and extremity of Affairs, make more than ordinarily precious. While Archimedes at Syracuse was drawing his Figures and Circles in the Sand, Marcellus interrupted his Demonstration.

2. Because the common result of Desputes of this kind, answerable to the prejudicate Opinions of the Parties, is rather Victory then Verity; while tanquam tentativi Dialectici, they study more to overcome their adverse Party, than to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory.

3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, nor expected by Me: I never judged so meanly of the Cause nor so highly of my self, as to venture it upon such weakness. Much more might be spoken to this purpose, but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble Your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section, hoping that Your Majesty will no more insist upon Education, Prescription of time, which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which Your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and the sure ground of Resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: Although it be true that the most part of men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their

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Faith;

Faith; An Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3 Concerning Reformation of Religion in the third Section; I had need have a Preface to so thorny a Theme, as Your Majesty hath brought Me upon. 1. For the Reforming Power; it is conceived, when a General Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Council is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, several Kingdoms (which we see was done at the time of the Reformation) are to reform themselves, and that by the Authority of their Prince, and Magistrates: If the Prince or Supreme Magistrate be unwilling, then may the inferiour Magistrate and the People, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform within their own Sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give Advice to Your Majesty, or to the Kings, and Supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the minds, tongues, and pens of the Learned, to dispute about other matter, than the Power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind Your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, than will easily be restored to Your self or Your Posterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming Power is in Kings and Princes; Quibus deficientibus, it comes to the inferior Magistrate; Quibus deficientibus, it descendeth to the Body of the People; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that such a Reformation is more imperfect, in respect of the Instruments and manner of procedure; yet for the most part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite Examples of old Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of Josiah. Concerning the saying of Grosthead, whom the Cardinals at Rome confest to be a more godly Man than any of themselves; it was his Complaint, and Prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire or election, if Reformation

could have been obtained in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartial Witnesses, Juel and Bilson, both famous English Bishops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raised in Scotland, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papists opposing the Reformation both of Doctrine and Discipline, as an Heretical Innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, or People, who under God were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and settling of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of England, I conceive, whether it was begun or not in King Henry the VIIIth's Time, it was not finished by Queen Elizabeth: The Father stirred the humours of the diseased Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to bless God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is yet reserved for Your Majesty. Where it is said, That all this time I bring no Reasons for a further Change; the fourth Section of my last Paper hath many hints of Reasons against Episcopal Government, with an offer of more, or clearing of those; which Your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned Men have observed many Defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of England, (for about this is the Question now) is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles; which they at least cannot deny, who profess Church Government to be mutable and ambulatory; and such were the greater part of Archbishops and Bishops of England, contenting themselves with the Constitutions of the Church, and the authority and munificence of Princes, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be Jure Divino: That the English Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman-Leaven; which is one of the Reasons that have been ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of Medicea, as being neither hot nor cold, neither Popish nor reformed, but of a Lukewarm temper, betwixt the two: That it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by transferring of it to the Civil Policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God; which is as unlawful as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine Institution: And other the like, which have moved some to apply this

saying to the Church of England, Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, nisi jam se pervenisse crederent.

4. In my Answer to the first of Your Majesty's many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, That a Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same in Scripture: From which, by necessary consequence, I did infer the Negative; Therefore, No difference in Scripture between a Bishop and a Presbyter; the one name signifying, Industriam Curiae pastoralis; the other, Sapientiae Maturitatem, saith Beda. And whereas Your Majesty avers, The Presbyterian Government was never practised before Calvin's time; Your Majesty knows, the common Objection of the Papists against the Reformed Churches; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before Luther's time? One part of the common Answer is, That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture: The same I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster have made manifest, That the Primitive Christian Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery: While they shew, 1. That the Church of Jerusalem consisted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers from the many Apostles, and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diversity of Languages among the Believers. That all these Congregations were under one Presbyterian Government, because they were, for Government, one Church, Acts 11. 22, 26. And because that Church was governed by Elders, Acts 11. 30. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government: And the Apostles themselves, in that Meeting, Acts 15. acted not as Apostles, but as Elders; stating the Question, debating it in the ordinary way of Disputation; and having, by search of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude, It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us: Which in the judgment of the Learned, may be spoken by any Assembly, upon the evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica &c in the times of the Apostles; and after them, for many Years, when one of the Presbytery was made Episcopus praeses, even then, Communi Presbyterorum Consilio Ecclesiae gubernabantur, saith Saint Jerome, and Episcopus magis consuetudine, quam Dispositionis Divinae veritate.

veritate, Presbyteris esse majores, & in Commune debere Ecclesiam regere.

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought, as that Your Majesty did intend any Fallacy, in Your other main Argument from Antiquity. As we are to distinguish between Intentio operantis, and Conditio operis; so may we in this Case consider the difference between Intentio Argumentantis, and Conditio Argumenti. And where Your Majesty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the Interpretation of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle Peter, and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by Your Majesty, what some of chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the Interpretation of Scriptures, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private in a threefold Sense. 1. Ratione personæ, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. 2. Ratione modi & medii, when Persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own Fancies. 3. Ratione finis, when the Interpretation is not proposed as Authentical to bind others, but is intended only for our own private Satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apostle Peter; the third ought not to be censured: But that Interpretation which is Authentical, and of Supreme Authority, which every Man's Conscience is bound to yield unto, is of an higher Nature. And although the General Council should resolve it, and the Consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must always be place left to the judgment of Discretion, as Davenant, late Bishop of Salisbury, besides others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book De Jure Controversiarum; where also the Power of Kings in matters of Religion is solidly and unpartially determined. Words only I add; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Legislation and Jurisdiction, will never be found in prime Antiquity. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that Antichrist, which was condemned in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Question of Hierarchy. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the

the beginning of the Reformation have discovered many secrets concerning the Antichrist and his Hierarchy, which were not known to former Ages: And divers of the Learned in the Roman Church have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal Sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully poured forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungrateful towards those Men, who with so great Pains, so happy Success, and so much Benefit to God's Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I wind together Diotrophes and the Mystery of Iniquity, the one as an old Example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the great Mystery of the Papacy at last.

6. Although Your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them and their Actions, as, without Bishops, in your Judgment, they cannot have a lawful Ministry, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I supposed Your Majesty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism, administred by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism administred by a private Person or by a Midwife. Of the first Your Majesty calls for proof: I told before, that in Scripture it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the Prophecie, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; so it is in the English Translation: And the Word Prebytery, so often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the Persons, and not the Office. And although the Offices of Bishop and Presbyter were distinct; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his Power or Order from the Bishop. The Evangelists were inferior to the Apostles; yet had they their Power, not from the Apostles, but from CHRIST. The same I affirm of the 70 Disciples, who had their Power immediately from CHRIST, no less than the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better Reason be averred, That the Bishops have their Power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their Power from the Prelate.

It is true, Jerome saith, Quid facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter? but in the same place he proves from Scripture, that Episcopus and Presbyter are one and the same; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaketh of the degenerated Custom of his Time. 2. Concerning Baptism a private Person may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it and of the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unless it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a Person made Publick and cloathed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptism, is begot by another Errour, of the absolute Necessity of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said concerning Your Majesty's Oath, I shall add nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil Power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own Place. Such an Headship as the Kings of England have claimed, and such a Supremacy as the two Houses of Parliament crave, with the Appeals from the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do utterly disclaim upon such Reasons as give my self Satisfaction, although no Man shall be more willing to submit to Civil Powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble than My self: Only concerning the application of the generals of an Oath, to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of England is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath: For although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective, Salus Populi being Suprema Lex, and to be principally intended. Your Majesty knows it was so in the Church of Scotland, where the like alteration was made. And if anything of this kind can be done without the Consent of the Pope, what Reformation can be expected in France, or in Rome it self? Its not to be expected that the Pope and his States will consent to their own ruin.

I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, Your Majesty's Father, of Famous Men; they being much better known to Your Majesty: I did produce what was profess'd by him before the World.

And

And although Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church yet it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducive for Kings and Princes, to force the Church to put on these Arms: Nor could I ever hear a Reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is unlawful, although it be joyned with Offence and Invasion which is intended for Defence, but so that Arms are laid down when the offensive War ceaseth: By which it doth appear, that the War on the other side was, in the nature thereof, Defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I pretermitted in my olier Paper, I am forced now, but without forcing of my Conscience, to Speak of it. Our Conscience may be said to be forced either by our selves, or by others. By our selves, 1. When we stop the Ear of our Conscience, and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis*; which is no less then a resisting of the Holy Ghost, and the hardning of our Hearts. 2. Or when we stop the Mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience; resolving rather to suffer the Worm to gnaw, and the Fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we sear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becometh Senseless; which is the punishment of the former: Unto which is opposed the truly tender Conscience; such as Josiah had, 2. Kings 22.19. Again, Our Conscience is said to be forced by others, 1. When they obtrude upon us what is in it self evil and unlawful; which if we admit against our own Conscience, we sin two ways; one is, by doing that which is in it self evil and unlawful; the other is, by doing it against a dictate of Conscience, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conscience we judge it to be evil and unlawful. In this case, if we do not that which is proposed to us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful: And if we do it, we sin, because we do against our Conscience; which in this case bindeth, but obligeth not. And yet there is no way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant to the Will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon Man: The only way is to lay aside such a Conscience, it being a part of the Old Man, which we are commanded

to put off; otherwise we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old Errour, we rather do violence to our Conscience our selves, than suffer violence from others. The Application, for Answering the Quære, I leave to Your Majesty.

Newcastle, June 17. 1646.

His MAJESTY's third Paper.

For Mr. Alexander Henderson.

1. **I**T were arrogance, besides loss of Time, in Me to vie *Preambles* with you: For, it is *Truth* I seek, and neither *Praise* nor *Victory*; wherefore I shall only insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to My own Satisfaction; in order to which, I desired the assistance of some *Divines*; whereupon I will insist no further, save only to wish, that you may not (as I have known many Men do) lose time, by being mistaken in the way to save it, wherein I have only sought to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My *Education* and *Reason*; but then remember, that another Man's Will is at least as weak a ground to build My Faith upon, as My former Education.

In this there are two points: First, concerning *Reforming Power*, then anent the *English Reformation*. In the first, I confess you now speak clearly, which you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall differ with you, until you shall shew Me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, when a General Council cannot be had, several *Churches* may Reform themselves, (which is learnedly fully proved by the late Archbishop of Canterbury in his

his Disputation against *Fisher*) but that the *inferior Magistrates or People* (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to My Judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture for this opinion, I would and will yet with all reverence submit; but as for your Examples *out of the old Testament*, in My mind, they rather make for, than against Me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*, and it is a good *probable* (though I will not say *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *popular reforming way*, there were *Kings of Judah and Israel* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such Examples by; but on the contrary, the 16th Chapter of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: But I forget this Assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way; wherefore let Me tell you that this pretended *Power* in the *People* must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: For the citing of private Men's Opinions (more than as they concur with the *general Consent of the Church* in their Time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjust Actions*; and though I much reverence *Bishop Jewel's Memory*, I never thought him *Infallible*. For *Bilson*, I remember well what Opinion the *King My Father* had of him for those Opinions, and how He shewed him some favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that kind) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say. To conclude this point, until you shall prove this *Position* by the Word of God, (as I will *Regard Authority*) I shall think all *Popular Reformation* little more than *Rebellion*; for I hold that no *Authority is lawful* but that which is either directly given, or at least approved by God. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first Reason you bring why *Queen Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because she took not away *Episcopacy*, the chief of Reason against which Government, you say, I take

notice of; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea, and Answer too, when I told you *a Negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for Me to prove the *Affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yield the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such *Men* of My Opinion who, like you, have a *Library* in their Brain: And so I must leave this particular until I be furnished with means to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had My will: Indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That *the English Church Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your Probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our Archbishops and Bishops should have professed *Church Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: And secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking Position*, (for some particulars must not conclude the general) for which you must find much better Arguments than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church*, and the *Authority and Munificence* of Princes, or you will fall extreamly short. As for the *retaining* of the *Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little. But that the conforming of the *Church Discipline* to the *Civil Policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I aver, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall do well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against Addition of more Officers in the Church than he named; and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for the *Archbishop* is only a distinction for order of Government, not a new Officer, and so of the rest: And of the same kind I believe there are diverse now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies* and others.

where you find a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be always the case in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove that the *Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that

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the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour, (albeit, in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you. As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is well that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe when I see it: For, your former Paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention. For because there were diverse Congregations in Jerusalem; Ergo, what? are there not diverse Parishes in one Diocese? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the Apostles met with those of the inferiour Orders, for Acts of Government; What then? Even so in these times do the Deans and Chapters, and many times those of the inferiour Clergy assist the Bishops; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the Apostles and other Presbyters; which not being, doth (in My Judgment) quite invalidate these Arguments. And if you can say no more for the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c than you have for Jerusalem, it will gain no ground on Me. As for St. Jerome, it is well known that he was no great Friend to Bishops, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained Deacons to be equal to Presbyters.

5. I am well satisfied with the Explanation of your meaning concerning the Word *Fallacy*, though I thought to have had reason for saying what I did: But by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of My Argument: for when you and I dispute upon the Interpretation of Scripture, and I appeal to the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, to be judge between us, you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waving

Judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the Interpretation by *Private Spirits* can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former *Foundations*; (as for Bishop *Dave-* *son*, he is none of those to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *others*, I take it to be a *begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of *Secrets*, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *Independent of Kings*, it being possible that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be allowable upon *necessity*, which otherways are *unlawful*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes nearest to the *Purity of the Primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning *Ordination*, I bad you prove that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop* might lawfully *Ordain*, which yet I perceive you have not done; for 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. it is evident that *St. Paul* was at *Timothy's Ordination*; and also that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the *other Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof *St. Mark* calls it an *Ordination*, *Mark* 3. 13. and *St. Luke* says, *And of them he chose twelve*, *Luke* 6. 13. only *St. Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their Name of distinction, *Matth.* 10. 1. I am out of modesty, himself being one, and the

other two being none, are more particular. For the *administration of Baptism*, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes more for Me than you: but I will not engage upon new Questions, not necessary for My purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you had done well to have omitted your instance; but, out of discretion I desire you to collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the Church *collective*, therefore can I be dispensed withal by others than the *representative body*? certainly no more than the People can dispense with me for any Oaths I took in their favours, without the two Houses of Parliament; as for future Reformati^ons, I will only tell you that *incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the King My Father's opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimonies, all and more than I have said of Him, for his perswasion in these points which I now maintain; and for your *Defensive War*, as I do acknowledge it a great sin for any King to oppress the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawful for Subjects (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Sovereign*, against which no less proofs will make Me yield but God's Word; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances as well as Comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quere* in My first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I doubted the lawfulness of it) but *force of Arguments* which, I conceive, it says little or nothing, (after My example) you refer Me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of a Question*, after a fine discourse of the several ways of perswading rather than forcing of conscience. I close this Paper, desiring you to take notice, that I touch none of these Sections but I could have enlarged

many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word, than others by a long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized will weigh as much with you, as if it were at large.

C R.

22. 1646.

Mr. Alexander Henderson's third Paper.

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practise of the Church, July 2. 1646.

HAVING in my former Papers pressed the steps of your Majesty's Propositions, and finding by your Majesty's last Paper, Controversies to be multiplied (I believe) beyond your Majesty's intentions in the beginning; As concerning the Reforming Power; The Reformation of the Church of England; The difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyterian; The warrants of Presbyterian Government; The Authority of Interpreting Scripture; The taking and keeping of publick Oaths; the forcing of Conscience, and many other inferior and subordinate Questions, which are Branches of those main Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of difficulties, or can find a way rather to cut them asunder, than to untie them: Yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor do I come to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons in their own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Majesties Command, I have begun already. Only Sir by your Majesty's favorableness for the greater expedition, and that the present business may be brought to some issue. I am bold to interpose that the Method may be a little altered, and I leave now to begin at a Principle, and that which should have been inter Præcognita; I mean the way by which we are to proceed, and to determine the

the present Controversie of Church Policy ; without which we will be led into a Labyrinth, and want a Thread to wind us out again. In your Majesty's first Paper, the universal Custom of the Primitive Church is conceived to be the Rule. In the second Paper, Section 1. The practise of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, is made a convincing Argument, when the Interpretation of Scripture is doubtful. In your third Paper, Sect. 5. the practise of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, is made Judge ; and I know that nothing is more ordinary in this Question, than to alledge Antiquity, perpetual Succession, universal consent of the Fathers, and the universal practise of the Primitive Church, according to the Rule of Augustine, Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec à Consilio institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi Autoritate Apostolicâ traditum rectissime creditur. There is in this argument at the first view, so much appearance of Reason, that it may much work upon a modest Mind ; yet being well examined, and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight ; for beside that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a Diocesan Bishop, having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same Order ; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations about the major, because it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errors, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obstruction to the Reformation of Religion.

1. First, I desire it may be considered, that some make two rules for defining Controversies ; the one of God and Antiquity, which they will have received with equal veneration) or as the Papists call it, Canonical Authority, and Catholical Tradition. Others make Scripture to be the only Rule, and the authentick Interpreter ; the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error ; because the first sets Tradition parallel in the same degree with Scripture ; the latter would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture. For the interpretation of the Fathers

the $\Delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota$, and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sense; and thus Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against 2 Cor. 1. 24. Our faith shall stand in the wisdom of Man, and not in the power of God, Cor. 2. 5. and Scripture shall be of private interpretation; For the Prophecie came not of old by the will of Man, 2 Pet. 1. 20, 22. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit: Homo jam Deo propitius esse debet, *auth* Tertullian.

2. That Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture is manifest from Scripture. The Levites gave the sense of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it self, Neh 8. 8. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sense of Scripture, against the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alledging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins, Mat. 4. and the Apostles in their Epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of Prophetical Writings; like as the Apostle Peter, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apostle with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 Pet. 1. 19. And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed. that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self. To this purpose, amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of Tertullian, Surge veritas, ipsa Scripturas tuas interpreta. quam consuetudo non novit; nam si nosset, non esset: if it knew Scripture, it would be ashamed of it self, and cease to be any more.

That some Errors have been received, and continued a long time in the Church. The Error of Free-will began at Justin Martyr, continued till the time of Reformation, although it was rejected by Augustine, as the Divine Right of Episcopacy was opposed by others. The Error about the Vision of God, That the Souls of Saints departed see not the face of God till the Judgment of the Great Day, was held by Universal Consent:

Consent. The same may be said of the Errour of the Mil-
lenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present
Question, the Ancients erred grossly about the Antichrist
and Mystery of Iniquity, which did begin to Work in
the Days of the Apostles. Many other Instances might be brought
to prove such universal Practice of the Church, as was
not warranted by the Apostles; as in the Rites of Baptism
and Prayer; and the forming up and drawing together of
the Articles of that Creed, that is called Symbolum Apo-
stolicum; the observation of many Feasts and Fasts both
Anniversary and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some
would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have
made a sudden defection from the Apostolical Purity. The
People of Israel, in the short time of Moses his absence on
the Mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Ido-
latry, Exo. 32. Soon after the Death of Josuah, and the El-
ders that had seen the great Works which the Lord had done
for Israel, there arose another Generation after them, which
did evil in the sight of the Lord, Judg. 2. Soon after the
building of the Temple, and setting of Religion by David
and Solomon, the Worship of God was defiled with Idolatry:
when Rehoboam had established the Kingdom, he forsook
the Law of the Lord, and all Israel with him, 2 Chron. 12.
1. And the Apostle says to the Galatians, Galat. 1. 6. I mar-
vel that you are so soon removed unto another Gospel:
Why then shall we think it strange, that in the matter of Dis-
cipline, there should be a sudden Defection, especially it being
begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common O-
pinion, but I believe there be no strong Reasons for it, that
the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was
the most pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the
universal Consent and Practice of the Primitive Church.
For many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their
Writings perished, (it may be that both of these have happened
from the rest) many of the Writings which we have are
their Names are supposititious and Counterfeit, especially the
Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papal Primacy.
The Rule of Augustine afore-mentioned doth too much favour

ditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like considerations may be added ; but these may be sufficient to prove, that the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practise of the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authentical interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in Scotland, much honoured by King James of happy Memory, who did often profess that he did learn more of one Page of John Calvin, than of a whole Treatise of Augustine: Nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so far preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified. It is but a poor Reason that some give, *Fama miratrix senioris ævi*; and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If Your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed, or trouble Your Majesty any more.

Newcastle,
July 2. 1646.

His

His MAJESTY's fourth Paper.

For Mr. Alexander Henderson. July 3. 1644.

I Shall very willingly follow the *Method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My last Paper multiplies more Controversies than My first gave occasion for; having been so far from augmenting the Heads of our Disputation, that I have omitted the answering many Things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needless Questions; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not I may with a safe Conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in England. And indeed I like very well, to begin with the settling of the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversie; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a Judge between us, or desire you to find ~~me a better~~, which to My Judgment you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine.) For if you understand to have offered the Scripture, though no Man shall pay more reverence nor submit more humbly to it, than My self; we must find some Rule to judge betwixt us, if you and I differ upon the Interpretation of the self same Text, or it can never determine our Questions. For example, I say you misapply that of 2 Cor. 13. 1. to Me, (let others Answer for themselves) for I do not how I make other Men to have Dominion over my Faith, when I make them only serve to approve my Reason; nor do I conceive how 1 Cor. 2. 5. can be applied to this purpose; For there Saint Paul only

the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention of any kind of Interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint Peter does, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for Me ; since that no *Prophecy of Scripture* is of any private Interpretation: First, I infer, that Scripture is to be Interpreted ; for else, the *Apostle* would have omitted the Word *Private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so a fortiori that of the *Catholick Church* ought to be an *authentic Judge*, when Men differ: And is it a good Argument, because (*Matth.* iv. 4, 7, 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it self, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainly you cannot think it: Thus having shewed you that we differ about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to do so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our Differences, or at least to make our Probations and Arguments *Relevant*; therefore evading for this time, to Answer your six *Considerations* (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new Questions) I desire you only to shew Me a better, than what I have offered unto you.

C. R.

Newcastle,
May 3. 1646.

For

His M A J E S T Y's fifth Paper.

For Mr. Alexander Henderson.

A particular Answer to Mr. *Alexander Henderson's Third Paper*, July 16. 1646.

UNTIL you shall find out a fitter way to decide our *Difference in Opinion concerning Interpretation of Scripture* than the *Consent of the Fathers, and the Universal practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but pass My Judgment anent those six *Considerations*, which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two Rules for defining of Controversies*, and seek a most odd way to confute them, as I think; For you alledge, that *there is more attributed to them* than I believe you can prove, by the consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are always some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides, do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellows should attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that their by their just reverence and authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the *Interpretation of Fathers* is a most excellent strengthening to my Opinion, though they should attribute the Cause and Reason of their error unto it.

2. As there is no Question, but that *Scripture* is the best Interpreter of it self, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

Nor in the next ; for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblameably have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you only intend to prove that *Errors* were always breeding in the Church, I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose. But if your meaning be, to accuse the universal practise of the Church with Error, I must say it is a very bold Undertaking: and (if you cannot justify your self, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed: wherein you must not alledge that to be universally received which was not ; as I dare say that the Controversie about Free Will, was never yet decided by Oecumenical, or General Council: nor must you presume to call that an Error, which really the Catholick Church maintained (as in Rites of Baptism, Forms of Prayer, Observation of Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostle, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawful, or else the practise of the Church is warrant enough for me to follow and obey that Custom, whatsoever it be, I think it good; and I shall believe that the Apostles were made by them, (such Reverence I bear to the Church's Tradition,) until other Authors be certain-ly out.

It was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any of the Catholick Church was erroneous, which

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was

was not contradicted by *Orthodox*, learned Men, in the times of their first practise, as is easily perceived that all those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confess it is *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of the *Universal Consent* and practice of the *Primitive Church*, therefore I confess a Man ought to be *careful* how to believe things of this nature: wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for *Caution*.

My Conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equal to the *Scriptures*; yet I do think the *unanimous Consent* of the *Fathers*, and the *Universal practice* of the *Primitive Church*, to be the best and most *Authenticall Interpreters* of God's Word, and consequently the fittest Judges between Me and you, when we differ, until you shall find Me better. For Example, I think you for the present the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better Preacher may come; but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle,

C. R.

July 16.
1646.



MAJESTY'S Speech at *Theobalds*,
at the delivery of the Petition for the
Militia. March 1. 1641.

I Am so much amazed at this Message, that I know not what to Answer. You speak of Jealousies and Fears: Lay your Hands to your Hearts, and ask your selves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: And if so, I assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the *Militia*, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the Answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in Honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

For My Residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent My Self from *White-Hall*; Ask your selves whether I have not?

For My Son, I shall take that care of him, which shall justifie Me to God as a Father, and to My Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I assure you upon My Honour, I have no thought but of Peace and Justice to my People, which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the Good-Providence of God, for the Preservation of Myself and Rights.

His



His M A J E S T Y's Quære concerning *EASTER*, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at *Holdenby*, April 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question,
Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter.

The Reason for this Quære is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same Authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lord's Day or *Sunday*; for it will not be found in Scripture where *Saturday* is discharged to be kept, or turned into the *Sunday*; wherefore it must be the Churches Authority that changed the one and instituted the other. Therefore My Opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast may as well return to the Observation of *Saturday* and refuse the Weekly *Sunday*. When any Body shew Me that herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it: Till which time I know My mind.

C.

A Prayer drawn by His MAJESTY'S special direction and Dictates, for a Blessing on the Treaty at Uxbridge.

Most merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a People sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech Thee to command a Blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom CHRIST himself hath shed his. Or, if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the Publick Good do pursue their own private ends; that this People may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their Peace. Grant this, gracious God, for His sake who is our Peace it self, even JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.

amen.

CHARLES the First's Prayer for Remission of Sin; useful for all People in all times or Conditions.

Almighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Me thy unworthy Servant, here prostrate My self at the Footstool

of thy Throne of Grace: But look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of JESUS CHRIST, in whom Thou art only well pleased; for of My self I am not worthy to stand before Thee, or to speak with my unclean lips to Thee, most High and Eternal GOD. For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by my sinful Motions, unclean Thoughts, evil Words, and wicked Works; omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavy displeasure. As for my Sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the Miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come, if Thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confess, O Lord, that it is thy Mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: But with Thee there is Mercy and plenteous Redemption. In the Multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of JESUS CHRIST I entreat Thy Divine MAJESTY that Thou wouldst not enter into Judgment with Thy Servant, nor be extream to mark what I have done amiss, but be Thou merciful unto me, and wash away all my Sins with that precious Blood that my Saviour shed for Me. I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all my Sins, but also to purge

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Heart by Thy Holy Spirit from the dross of my natural Corruption. And as Thou dost add Days to my Life, so, Good Lord, beseech Thee to add Repentance to my Days, that when I have pass'd this mortal life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of J E S U S C H R I S T our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confession in and for the Times of Affliction.

A Lmighty and most merciful Father, as it is only Thy goodness that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite which can give us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confess our Sins freely unto Thee. And of all Men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man living having been so much oblig'd by Thee: That degree of Knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise the guilt of My Transgressions. For was I through Ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of worship? Or that I permitted a wrong way of worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience:

Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the Multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know my Repentance weak, and My Prayers faulty. Grant therefore, merciful Father, strengthen My Repentance and amend My Prayers, that Thou may'st clear the Way to Thine own Mercies; to which O let thy Justice at last give Place, putting a speedy end to my deserved Afflictions. In the mean Time give Me Patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning Spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for Thy Son JESUS CHRIST's sake, our only Saviour. *Amen.*

His MAJESTY's Letter to His Son the Prince of Wales, June 2. 1646. From Newcastle.

Charles,

THIS is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you in any Thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every Thing, except in RELIGION, concerning which I am confident She will not Trouble you, nor see that you go not any whither without Her particular Directions. Let Me hear often from you, and so GOD blefs you.

Newcastle, June 2. 1646.

Your loving Father

C H A R L E S



Majesty's Protestation in the Head of
his Army, between *Stafford* and *Wallington*,
September 19. 1642.

I do Promise in the presence of Almighty GOD,
and as I hope for his Blessing and Protection, that
I will to the utmost of My Power defend and main-
tain *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in
the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in
the same will live and dye.

I desire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*,
and that *the Liberty and Property of the Subject* may be
by them preserved with the same care as My own just
Rights. And if it please God, by His Blessing upon
this Army raised for My necessary Defence, to pre-
serve Me from this Rebellion: I do solemnly and
faithfully Promise in the sight of God, to maintain *the
just Priviledges and Freedom of Parliament*, and to govern
by *the known Laws of the Land* to My utmost Power,
and particularly to observe inviolable *the Laws consent-
ed to by Me this Parliament*. In the mean while, if this
time of War, and the great necessity and straits I
am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I
hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the
Authors of this War, and not to Me, who have so
diligently laboured for the Preservation of *the Peace of
the Kingdom*.

If I willingly fail in these particulars, I will
not expect aid or relief from any Man, or Protection
from Heaven: But in this Resolution I hope for the
Assistance of all good Men, and am confident
of God's Blessing.

His

His M A J E S T Y's Speech and Protestation, before His receiving the Holy Eucharist, at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*. 16

His M A J E S T Y being to receive the Sacrament from the Hands of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, used these Publick Expressions, immediately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His Knees, and beckning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the Resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of My Power prepared My Soul to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the Blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivence of Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these Publick Distractions, I have still been able to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not agree with My Lips in this Protestation.

*His Majesty's Farewell Speech unto the
Lords Commissioners at Newport in the
Isle of Wight. Novemb. 1648.*

MY LORDS, you are come to take your leave
of Me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see
each other again: But God's Will be done; I thank
God, I have made my Peace with him, and shall with-
out fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer
Men to do unto Me.

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in My fall
and ruine you see your own, and that also near to
you; I pray God send you better Friends than I
have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the
Plot against Me and mine; and nothing so much af-
flicts Me, as the sense and feeling I have of the suffer-
ings of my Subjects, and the miseries that hang over
My three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who
(upon pretences of publick good) violently pursue
their own Interests and Ends.

*These words His Majesty delivered with much alacrity
and cheerfulness, with a serene countenance, and a car-
riage free from all disturbance.*

Several

*Several Things relating to His MAJESTY'S
Death.*

A Quære Propounded by His MAJESTY

WHereas by the Letter of the Law all Persons charged to offend against the Law ought to be tried by their Peers or Equals, what the Law is to a Person questioned is without a Peer. And if the Law (which of it self is but a dead Letter) seems to condemn him, by what Power shall Judgment be given, and who shall give it? Or from whence shall the Administrators of such Judgment derive their Power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme Power or authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom.

His MAJESTY'S Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to have delivered in Writing on Monday, January 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAVING already made My Protestations, not only against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also That no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My Mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken were I in this Case alone concerned. But the Duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent. For how can any free-born Subject of England call Life, or any thing he possesseth his own, without Right daily make new, and abrogate the Fundamental Laws of the Land? Which I take to be the present Case. Wherefore when I came to this I expected that you would have endeavoured to satisfy Me concerning these grounds which I lay out Me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; since I see that nothing I can say will move you (the

(though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*: For I will not, (like you) without bringing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon Myself.

There is no proceeding just against a man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for, on the contrary, the authority of Obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove. And for the Question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the Word of a King is, there is Power; and who may say unto him, What dost thou?* Eccl. viii. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and all the world to judge: And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without a King or Lords, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of

Here about I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.

submitting, but not granting, that the People of *England* could grant your pretended Power, and that you can shew for that; for certainly you have answered the Question of the tenth Man in the Kingdom in this way you manifestly wrong even the tenth-man, if you demand not his free consent: you pretend any colour for this your pretended

Commission, without the consent at least of the major part of every Man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see I speak not for My own Right alone, as I am King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their Liberty and property of their Goods. Nor in this must or do we forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days Proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of: with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all pretended Crimes laid against Me bear Date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surpriz'd, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my Power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own Just Right. Then, for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting; so as, if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the Lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least of my thoughts; and what hopes of Settlement is there, if as the Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years? (I say what will fall out, in case this Lawless proceeding against Me do go on.) And believe me, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this, for they will remember how happy they have been under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King *My* father, and My self, until the beginning of these our Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that the

never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My Power totally changed the ancient Government.

After having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I do not submit to your pretended Authority, without losing the Trust which I have from God for the Peace and Liberty of My People; I expect from you clear Reasons to convince My Judgment, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday the 22d. of January, but against Reason was hindered to shew My Reasons.

I. A true Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the Day before His Death.

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and bad her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she should see him, That it was his Father's last desire, that he should no more look upon Charles as his elder Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign, and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the King to his Sweet-Heart, you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall not forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the Par-

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head (upon which Words the Child looked very sadly on Him) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off thy Father's Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, thou must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, Charles and James, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads

(when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: And therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: Which falling so unexpectedly from one so Young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

II. *Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth own Hand.*

WHat the King said to Me the 29th of Jan. 1649 being the last time I had the happiness to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment My self for Him, for that would be a glorious Death that He should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid Me read Bishop *Andrews's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of My Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell My Mother That His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. With this He commanded me and my Brother, to be Obedient to Her: And bid me send His Blessing to the rest of My Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all My Friends. So after He had given me his blessing, He gave me my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive the People, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them life, and He feared also, to their own Souls: And He bid Me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would

He His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived : With many other Things, which I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THE King said to the Duke of Gloucester, That He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul : He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King ; but it was a Thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him ; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him : And commanded him to fear the Lord, and He would provide for him.

The Persons that Sate when Judgment was given upon the Life of their King ; whereof 58 sign'd the Warrant for the Murder of him their Sovereign.

Serjeant John Bradshaw, President.

Oliver Cromwel,

General Ireton,

Lisle, Esq;

William Say, Esq;

Hardresse Waller,

Valentine Walton.

Thomas Harrison,

Edward Whaley,

Thomas Pride,

Isaac Ewer,

Lord Gray,

John Danvers,

Thomas Haleberer,

John Bourthier,

Isaac Pennington, Alder.

Col. Henry Marten,

Col. William Purefoy,

Col. John Berested,

John Blackston,

Gilbert Millington,

Sir William Constable,

Col. Edmund Ludlow,

Col. John Hutchinson,

Sir Michael Livesey,

Col. Robert Titchburn,

Col. Owen Row,

Col. Robert Lilburne,

Col. Adrian Scrope,

Col. 11

Will. Hebeningham, Esq;	Col. Richard Teane,
Col. John Dkey,	Thomas Scot, Esq;
Col. Hewson,	Tho. Andrews, Alder
Col. William Coffe,	William Cambley,
Cornelius Holland, Esq;	Anthony Strapeley,
Mr. Carew,	Col. John Downes,
Col. John Jones.	Col. Thomas Hor
Miles Corbet, Esq;	Col. Tho. Hammo
Francis Allen, Esq;	Nicholas Lobe,
Berezzine Belham, Esq;	Vincent Botter,
Col. John Moore,	Augustine Garland,
Col. John Alured.	John Dirwel,
Col. Henry Smith.	Col. George Fleetwood,
Humphrey Edwards, Esq;	Simon Wayne,
Gregory Clement, Esq;	Col. James Temple,
Thomas Wogan, Esq;	Peter Temple.
Sir Gregory Norton,	Daniel Blagzabe,
Col. Edmond Harbey,	Col. Thomas Waite,
Col. John Uenne,	In all LXV.

Counsellors Assistant to draw up the Charge.

Doctor Isaac Dorislaus.

——— Aske.

William Steele. *who excused himself by Sickness.*

John Cooke. Solicitor.

Dendy Serjeant, Mace-bearer.

Broughton and Phelps, Clerks.

His Majesty being taken away by the Guard, as he passed down the Stairs, the insolent Souldiers scoffed at Him, blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco (a thing very distasteful to Him) in His Face, and throwing their Pipes in His Face. And one more insolent than the rest, spitting in His Face. His Majesty, according to His wonted Heroick Patience, took no more notice of so strange and barbarous an affront, than to wipe it off with His Handkerchief.

As He passed along, hearing the rabble of Souldiers cry out Justice, Justice, He said,

Poor Souls, for a piece of Money they would sell their Honour so for their Commanders.

His MAJESTY'S last Speech on
the Scaffold at His Martyrdom,
January 30. 1648.

I shall be very little heard of any body here, I shall therefore Speak a Word unto you here : Indeed I could hold My Peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as the Punishment : But I think it My Duty to God first, and then to My Country, for to clear My self both as an Honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with My Innocency. In troth, I think it not very needful for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War first with the two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to Witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to encroach upon their Privileges : they began upon Me ; it is the *Militia* they began upon ; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from Me ; and to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of these Enormous Crimes that are laid against Me, I hope in God that God will clear Me of it. I will (as I am in Charity) God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament ; there is no necessity for either : I hope they are free of this Guilt. For I believe that ill Instruments between them and Me were the chief cause of all this blood-shed. So I will leave away of Speaking, as I find My self clear of this, and pray God, that they may too. Yet for all that I God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to think that God's Judgments are just upon Me ; many
times

His Majesty's Speeches and Death.

times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence; that is ordinary. I will only say this, That an unjust Sentence that I suffered for to take effect is, punished now by an unjust Sentence upon Me. That is----So far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian. I hope * there is a good Man that will witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular who have been the chief causers of My Death: Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know; I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, My Charity must go further; I wish that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that particular: I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge. Nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom: For My Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but My Charity commands Me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all My Soul, (* and I do hope there is some here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.

First, You are out of the way. For certainly the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any, is the way of Conquest. Certainly this is an ill way. For Conquest, Sir, in My Opinion, is never just except there be a good just Cause, either for man's Wrong, or just Title; and then if you go beyond the first Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it just at the end that was just at the first. But not only matter of Conquest, than it is a great wrong, as a Pirate said to Alexander, that He was the greatest of them, he was but a petty Robber. And so, I think the way that you are in is much out of the way.

Now, Sir, for to put you in the way; believe me, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you.

until you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is, My Successors) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly the Church according to the Scripture, which is now in disorder. For to set you in a way particularly, now I do not; but only this, A National Synod, freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed I will not, —

(Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Axe, He said,

Hurt not the Ax, that may hurt Me.) For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns My Own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the People; And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Life and Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government, Sir; that is nothing pertaining to them; a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different Things. And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have gone any way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws made according to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here; and therefore I tell you, (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Friend of the People.

And now, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer; for I will only say this to you, That in truth I could have stayed a little time longer, because that I would have said this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested than I have done; and therefore you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience: I pray God that you take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Then the Bishop said,

Though

58 *His Majesty's Speeches and Death.*

Though it be very well known what Your Majesty's affections are to the Protestant Religion, yet it may be expected that You should say something for the World's satisfaction in that particular.

Whereupon the King replied,

I thank you very heartily, My Lord, for that; I almost forgotten it.

In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the C H U R C H of E

** Pointing to the Bishop.* GLAND, as I found it left Me by My Father: * and this honest Man, I think, will witness it.

Then turning to the Officers he said,

Sirs, Excuse Me for this fame. I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious God. I will say no more.

Then to Colonel Hacker He said,

Take care that they do not put Me to Pain. And, Sir, this, and it please you —

But a Gentleman coming near the Axe, the King said,

Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed of the Axe.

And to the Executioner He said,

I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my Hands —

Then He call'd to the Bishop for His Cap, and having put it on, asked the Executioner,

Does My Hair trouble you?

Who desired Him to put it all under His Cap; which He was doing by the help of the Bishop and the Executioner. He turned to the Bishop, and said,

I have a good Cause and a gracious God on My Side.

The Bishop said,

† There is but one Stage more; which though turbulent and troublesome, yet is a very short one.

† These Words were spoken upon occasion of private discourse between His Majesty and the Bishop concerning several Stages of Man's Life, and his course through the allusion to Posts and Stages in a Race.

may consider it will soon carry You a very great way ; it will carry You from Earth to Heaven ; and there You will find, to Your great joy, the prize You hasten a Crown of Glory.

The King adjoins,

from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown ; no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown : A good Exchange.

Then the King asked the Executioner,
Is My Hair well ?

And taking off His Cloak and George, He delivered His George to the Bishop, saying, Remember.

Then putting off His Doublet, and being in His Waistcoat, He put on His Cloak again, and looking upon the Block, said to the Executioner,

You must set it fast.

Execut. It is fast, Sir.

K I N G. It might have been a little higher.

Execut. It can be no higher, Sir.

K I N G. When I put out My Hands this way, then--

Then having said a few Words to Himself, as He stood, with Hands and Eyes lifted up, immediately stooping down He laid His Neck on the Block ; and the Executioner again putting His Hair under His Cap, His Majesty thinking he had been going to strike, bad him

for the Sign.

Execut. Yes, I will, and it please Your Majesty.

After a very short pause, His Majesty stretching forth His Hand, the Executioner at one blow severed His Head from His Body : Which being held up and shewed to the People, His Body put into a Coffin covered with Black Velvet, and carried into His Lodging.

F I N I S.





